

INDIRA GANDHI

A JOURNEY OF FRIENDSHIP

Statement in the Indian Parliament by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 7 April 1966, on her talks with President de Gaulle of France, President Johnson of the U.S.A., Prime Minister Wilson of the U.K. and Chairman Kosygin of the U.S.S.R., with texts of her major speeches in the U.S.A.

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STATEMENT TO PARLIAMENT

*Statement made in Parliament
on 7 April 1966*

AS the House is aware, I paid an official visit to the United States from March 28 to April 1, in response to an invitation from President Johnson. On the way, I broke journey at Paris, where I met President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Pompidou. On the return journey, I met Prime Minister Wilson in the course of a brief stop-over in London. I also made a halt at Moscow, where I had discussions with Chairman Kosygin.

In Paris, I was received with much warmth and cordiality. President de Gaulle showed deep interest in our economic problems and assured me of the earnest desire of the French Government and people to help us in dealing with them. In particular, the French Government is ready to help develop further cultural, scientific and technical co-operation between our two countries. A team of French technical experts is visiting India soon in pursuance of this objective. My talks with the French President revealed a full understanding of our position on various international issues and a substantial area of agreement between France and India on many issues. I feel sure that my meeting with President de Gaulle will further strengthen the close and friendly relations between our two countries. Our President has already invited President de Gaulle. The House will recall that sometime back (towards the end of last year) Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit personally conveyed the invitation from the President

when she visited France as our special envoy. I hope President de Gaulle will find it convenient to visit our country. He will be a very welcome and honoured guest.

Before coming to the main points of discussion with President Johnson and the impressions of my visit to the United States, I should like to take this opportunity to tell the House of the great warmth and graciousness of the hospitality and courtesy shown to me by President Johnson and the American people, and to express my sincere thanks to them for it. I had full and frank discussions with President Johnson and his colleagues and the broad substance of our discussions is set out in the joint communique issued at the end of the visit. A copy of the communique is placed on the table of the House. I should perhaps mention briefly the general spirit in which our talks took place. In the fast changing world of today such meetings are necessary even between friends who share many values in common. Our object was primarily to establish a close rapport and understanding and not to exchange advice or favours. I believe that in this we succeeded in full measure — an outcome which owes much to the complete candour and mutual confidence with which we approached our task. The conversations ranged over a wide field. President Johnson expressed understanding and appreciation of our own massive efforts to raise the living standards of our people. He assured me of the deep interest of his Government in continuing to assist us in our efforts to promote such development, by playing its full part in the Consortium which has existed for some years to mobilize external support for our plans under the auspices of the World Bank.

On our emergency needs for food, President Johnson sent an urgent message to the U.S. Congress immediately after our discussions, seeking Congressional approval for generous additional supplies of foodgrains, cotton and other agricultural commodities. The message set our economic progress and current problems in perspective. I am sure the House would like to join me in expressing our appreciation at its speedy passage through the U.S. Congress. During our talks on India's food problem, President Johnson likewise displayed a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of our efforts to help ourselves, of the promise of our plans for increasing agricultural production and of our programmes for population control.

The President also announced the establishment of an Indo-U.S. Foundation to help develop new techniques in farm and factory, to advance science and to extend research facilities. Such a proposal had in fact been under consideration for quite some time and was approved by Government about a year ago. The Foundation will be administered in a manner consistent with the Government of India's educational plans and programmes and with a view to further the national interest and the health of the economy.

As the House is aware, we view external assistance only as a means of supplementing our own efforts and as an aid towards achieving self-reliance in the shortest possible time. In the course of our talks, President Johnson repeatedly stated that the United States views its assistance to us in the same spirit of promoting self-help and early self-reliance on our part without interfering with our policies or our plans.

There was reference to India's relations with Pakistan during the talks. I reiterated India's desire to promote the friendliest of relations with Pakistan in keeping with the Tashkent spirit, despite the difficulties created. We agreed that the peaceful processes set in motion by the Tashkent Declaration should be continued. President Johnson expressed his strong support for the Tashkent Declaration and his desire that there should be friendship between India and Pakistan. Reference was also made to the threat posed to India's security by China's aggressive designs and postures. Apart from reaffirming our determination to defend our freedom and territorial integrity against any threat, from whatever quarter it may come, I emphasized the fact that the long-range challenge of China is as much political and economic as military. I also explained that India's gigantic effort to attain the goal of democratic socialism and of achievements in the field of development, in conditions of stability, was itself a notable contribution to peace.

The situation in Viet Nam was briefly discussed. I reiterated India's continuing desire to see a just and peaceful solution of the problem.

I have extended an invitation to President and Mrs. Johnson to visit India and the President has expressed the hope that it would be possible for him to visit India again.

In New York, I had a useful meeting with Secretary-General U Thant at the United Nations and I took this opportunity to address the Afro-Asian group.

Besides the discussions which I had with President Johnson and his colleagues, I had occasion during my stay in the United States to meet and share my thoughts with a large number of distinguished American citizens in the course of various public engagements. I reiterated our stand on Kashmir and its wider implications. These contacts have, I think, helped promote a better understanding of our views by the American people.

On my way back from the United States, I had a meeting with Prime Minister Wilson in London. Our talks covered many subjects and were held in a friendly atmosphere. They have resulted in a better understanding of India's position. Mr. Wilson expressed the British Government's readiness to join other countries in giving urgent consideration to immediate steps for providing further economic assistance to India as soon as possible. I have invited Mr. Wilson to visit India and he has accepted the invitation.

In Moscow, I had a valuable exchange of views with Chairman Kosygin in the course of which we reviewed the international scene and in particular the developments following the signing of the Tashkent Declaration. As the House is aware, Indo-Soviet co-operation in the economic and other fields has grown steadily during the past many years. A number of projects are currently under execution with Soviet assistance, and the Bokaro Steel Plant has been added to the list very recently. The Soviet Union continues to take a friendly and sympathetic interest in our Fourth Plan and during our talks in Moscow, we agreed that the preliminary discussions which we have already had in this regard will be expeditiously pursued.

Chairman and Mrs. Kosygin have agreed to visit India later this year. This will give us yet another opportunity to strengthen the bonds of friendship and goodwill between our two countries.

I was reluctant to be away from India even for a brief period when Parliament is in session and at a time when we have many pressing problems to tackle at home. But as the House will appreciate, despite the urgency of our tasks and the underlying friendship of other nations towards us, it is necessary to develop

contacts at the personal level from time to time with the leaders of countries with which we have established strong ties of co-operation and understanding. I have every hope that my discussions during this visit abroad will advance the cause of friendship and co-operation not only between our respective countries but also in the wider comity of nations.

Throughout my ten-day visit, I found an abundance of friendship and goodwill for India and a growing understanding of the significance of India's foreign policy and of its developmental efforts. We can derive satisfaction, strength from these manifestations of friendship. But we must never forget that there is no substitute for hard and determined effort and sacrifice on the part of the Indian people. The nations of the world are watching the Indian experiment and they will respect us and be willing to assist us only in the measure of our own effort and sense of dedication. This is the task to which we must now, as before, address ourselves, with faith and confidence in the capacity of our people to shape the destiny of India.

SHARED IDEALS

*Statement on arrival at the White House, Washington,
28 March 1966*

MR. PRESIDENT, Mrs. Johnson, your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I thank you, Mr. President, for your warm words of welcome and for this gracious reception to me. I have had the privilege and the great pleasure of visiting America many times. Each visit has been an education, an enlarging of the circle of friends, and a deepening of understanding.

I come today as a friend and I bring with me the greetings and goodwill of the Indian people.

Mr. President, you have visited India with Mrs. Johnson. We have very pleasant and happy memories of that occasion. You are known in India not

only as a great President of a distant country, but as a man of high idealism and a warm-hearted friend who has come to our help in a time of need.

You have mentioned your interest in peace, Mr. President. We in India are greatly interested and concerned about peace, for to us it is not only a question of an ideal, but one of very practical necessity to give us time and opportunity to deal with those other problems and questions which you have mentioned; that is, to be able to develop our country, to give opportunity to our own people to stand on their feet, to deal with the many obstacles and difficulties which a long-standing poverty has imposed on us.

I am grateful to you for your invitation. As I meet you again, I recall your moving words on the theme of poverty. Declaring unconditional war on the pockets of poverty in your own country you said: "We want to give people more opportunity. They want education and training. They want a job and a wage. They want their children to escape the poverty which has afflicted them."

May I say, Mr. President, that important as these words are for the American people, they cannot mean as much to them as they do to us in India who have so long been denied the very basic decencies of life? We know that in our own war on poverty we have a noble friend, one who believes that the distant sufferer is his own brother.

India and the United States cannot and should not take each other for granted or allow their relations to drift. As friends committed to common ideals, they can together make this world of ours a better place in which to live.

Mr. President, may I express my gratitude not only for the welcome you have given me, but for the kind words which you have said about my father and our late Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri? I know how greatly Mr. Shastri was looking forward to his visit here. I hope that I shall be able to fulfil what he had in mind and what he had hoped to do.

Mr. President, may I greet you and the American people on behalf of the people of India?

CHANGING INDIA

*Speech at Dinner in the White House, Washington,
28 March 1966*

MR. PRESIDENT, Mrs. Johnson, your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

Your words, Mr. President, were exceedingly moving. You have spoken of India and her wide variety. We who live there are naturally deeply conscious of it, while at the same time we are fully aware of the underlying and the basic unity which binds together all our people.

You have quoted some words of my father. I should like to quote something which you yourself have said. You said, Mr. President, "Reality rarely matches dreams, but only dreams give nobility to purpose."

In the United States, you have matched your dreams in many ways. Yet you still seek, and rightly, to offer the American people a better and a more purposeful life. You have called this idea "The Great Society". In India, we also have our dreams, which may seem trite to you who sit here, because they appear so simple — food barely sufficient to keep one from hunger, shelter to keep out the wind and the rain, medicine and education by which to restore the faith and the hope of our nearly 500 million people.

But everything in life is relative. There is an old proverb in my country. A person says, "I complained that I had no shoes until I met a man who had no feet."

Mahatma Gandhi said once, and it is something which my father often repeated, that we in India had to work to wipe the tear from every eye. That of course is a big task and I doubt if it can be done in any country. And yet we have been trying to do that for eighteen long years. Two centuries of subjugation cannot be washed away so easily. It takes time. It takes work. It takes courage. India is changing, as no doubt your advisers who have been to India have told you, Mr. President. Nowhere in the world can the contrast be so striking. We have not only different levels of development between the different States, but

even within each State we have often several centuries existing side by side. We have some of the greatest irrigation works in the world, and yet in parts of our State of Rajasthan, desert families store precious water under lock and key.

During a tour of some of these border areas a couple of months or so ago, I myself experienced the great hardship of doing without water and measuring the miles from well to well. Some 12 million or more of bullock-carts still churn the dust of our village roads. Yet in other parts of India, we are building three nuclear power plants.

Average agricultural yields are low, and at the same time there are areas where we obtain sugarcane yields that compare favourably with those in Hawaii or in Java.

A third of the illiterate people in the world are in India. Yet we are steadily conquering illiteracy.

In our State of Maharashtra, village after village strives to achieve total literacy. Parents learn from their children so that the honour of the village is upheld. In Madras people have banded together to improve their schools. They have given 100 million rupees beyond what the government spends on their schools.

In the Punjab, little workshops make lathes and pumps that have revolutionized the countryside.

The seeming inconsistencies and conflicts of India are legion. The setbacks, and we have had many, are heart-breaking. Yet the signs of change are clear and constantly growing.

Sometimes critics point to an example of success and say, "This proves nothing. This is a mere drop in the ocean of Indian poverty." How wrong this is! For every success reinforces the prospect of further success. It shows that success is possible. The example and the confidence it generates radiate outward.

This, Mr. President, is really our major problem. Years ago when we visited the villages to persuade people to try for a better life, they turned to us and

said, "There can be no better life. God wills it this way. This is our lot and we have to suffer it." Today not a single voice will be heard like this. There is only one demand, that we do want a better life, we want better schools and more schools. We want bigger hospitals and more hospitals, and all the other signs of progress and of rising standards of living.

This I think is a very big achievement.

You talked of democracy. May I tell you one more story which I shared with the Vice President a short while ago? It happened during our first election. I had gone to speak in a village where, just the day before, the leader of an opposition party had spoken. When my speech was ended, an elderly gentleman got up from the audience and said, "We have listened very carefully to what you have said, but just the day before somebody came — so-and-so came — and he said the exact opposite. Now, which of you was telling the truth?"

This, you can understand, is an extremely tricky question to ask a public speaker. I said, "Well, I think that what I said was the truth, but I have no doubt that the gentleman thought that what he said was the truth. The whole point of democracy is that everybody should say whatever he thinks is the truth, and you, the people, have to really judge which is the correct version, and which is the right version or the right thing for you."

Well, this was rather a difficult explanation for them, and they said, "Now, you tell us, do you belong to the Congress Party?" I said, "I do." "Is your party in power? Is it forming the government?" I said, "Yes, it is." "Then what business have you to send somebody here who tells us incorrect things? It is your business to keep them away."

This was one of the stops where I was supposed to stay only ten minutes, but where I stayed for two hours trying to argue the whole point out about elections, freedom of expression, and so on. I can't say that I got any further at the end of two hours.

But now, years later, we find that we have got further. Nobody today in India would put such a question. They know that the different parties have their points of view, and these points of view are put before the people, and the

people judge, not always rightly, but I think they try to judge rightly. Certainly, from election to election they have shown a great maturity.

India very definitely is on the move. Mr. President, the United States has given India valuable assistance in our struggle against poverty, against hunger, against ignorance, and against disease. We are grateful for this act of friendship. But we also know that our own "Great Society" must and can only rest securely on the quality and the extent of our own effort.

This effort we are determined to make; we owe it to our friends, and even more so we owe it to ourselves.

Nevertheless, I believe that it is of the greatest importance, to use your own words, to bring into closer union the spirit and courage of both our countries. I welcome your intention to set up an Indo-American Foundation, which will give tangible shape and form to this union.

The present-day world offers the possibility of bringing together one people with another. The young men and women of your Peace Corps are well known and well loved in our country. Every endeavour to sustain and enlarge this people-to-people partnership is a good effort and is welcome.

Friendship with America is not a new thing for us. Those of us in India who have been involved with the struggle for freedom have known from our earliest days your own struggle here. We have been taught the words of your leaders, of your past great Presidents, and above all we were linked in friendship because of the friendship which President Roosevelt showed us, the understanding which he showed during some of the most difficult days of our independence struggle. I have no doubt it was also this understanding and friendly advice given to the British Government which facilitated and accelerated our own freedom.

But there again the major effort had to be our own, and this is what we want today, that we should bear our burden, as indeed we are doing, but that a little bit of help should come from friends who consider it worthwhile to lighten the burden. Because, Mr. President, India's problems today are her own, but they are also the world's problems. India has a position in Asia which is in an

explosive situation. India, if it is stable, united, democratic, can serve a great purpose. If India is not stable, or if there is chaos, if India fails, I think it is a failure of the whole democratic system. It is a failure of many of the values which you and I both hold dear.

That is why, Mr. President, I welcome your words and I welcome this meeting with you, which has been most valuable to me.

I invite you, ladies and gentlemen, to join with me in drinking a toast to the President and Mrs. Johnson, our friends, the American people, and the Great Society, not just for America, but for all who dream of it, for all who struggle to transform those dreams into reality.

THE BASIC PROBLEM

*Address to the National Press Club, Washington,
29 March 1966*

I AM delighted to be here today in this gathering of newsmen and representatives of mass communication media. Need I say that I am specially happy that the women members of the profession are also present.

I am grateful to the President and Mrs. Johnson, members of the United States Government and the people of this country for their kindness, hospitality and warmth of welcome to me. I have had frank and friendly talks with President Johnson and have profited from an exchange of views on many matters. We have asked nothing of each other. However, I am confident that as a result of these talks the understanding between our two countries has been immeasurably increased.

This afternoon I should like to speak to you and through you to the American people. I should like to speak about India as an old country, a new country, a fast-developing country — India where many centuries are telescoped into one. In our historical situation, we have learned to live with internal strains and tensions. These we consider growing pains.

This year, we are also confronted with a difficult food situation caused by an unprecedented drought. There is acute scarcity in parts of the country, but no famine or starvation as we knew the words in pre-independence days. We may have averted deaths, but continued malnutrition is as dangerous. We are making every effort to ensure equitable distribution of available cereals including the wheat and other supplies which America and other countries are generously providing.

Nevertheless, 1966 will be a hard year. To the casual observer, the Indian scene, political and economic, might appear distressing, even ominous. Such a conclusion, however, would be wrong.

I do not underrate India's problems. It is an ancient country, reborn and striving courageously to make the tremendous transition from a traditional to a modern society. It is an effort which represents one of the most significant human experiments of our time.

Consider India. It is only one-third the geographic size of the United States. But when you talk about India you are talking of a country with more people than all the Americas, North, South. You are talking about one-seventh of the entire human race.

Obviously, what happens to India is of profound importance. Not because of the vote India casts in the United Nations. Not because of any military power. Not because of its rich culture. But because it constitutes a society of nearly 500 million people. Many faiths, languages, races live side by side. India is the largest democratic society in the world. This is an essential fact to which I should draw your attention. India, like the United States, is wedded to the democratic ideal. Early next year an electorate of some 250 million people will go forth to elect freely their chosen representatives for the fourth time since independence.

But what does democracy in the mid-twentieth century mean? Does it merely mean the right to vote, the rule of law, freedom of speech, association and worship? Or does it mean more than that? I suggest that today democracy inescapably implies social welfare, equality of opportunity, reasonable living standards, the dignity of the individual. Man does not live by bread alone. But equally he needs bread to enjoy liberty.

This is the remarkable feature of democracy in India. It represents a striking historical reversal. Political democracy as we know it today was for the most part mainly in Europe the end-product of a long revolutionary process of industrial development and educational and social change. In India, democracy has been made the instrument of such a change. We firmly believe that democracy and development can and do go hand in hand and that the human being cannot be sacrificed in the name of material development.

Nonetheless, with the grant of political rights to a huge and increasingly socially and politically conscious electorate, the people, like Oliver Twist, want more. They are right to want more—and better.

This revolution of rising expectations, as it has been called, generates its own pressures. India has not escaped from these pressures and is subject to them. The rapid rise in population has aggravated our problems. We have added largely to our numbers since independence. Every month there are a million more Indians to care for. We have, however, launched a vast family planning programme. The magnitude of our effort will be evident from the statistics. Eighteen thousand family planning centres are actually operating in the country today. We have also increased the budget for family planning twenty-fold.

Poverty is our basic problem. It is our principal enemy. The per capita income of the average Indian is no more than 70 dollars per annum. If a per capita monthly consumption of four dollars is regarded as a bare minimum, then half the population of India lives below the breadline. This lends urgency to development.

I find it difficult to understand the concept of those of our friends who feel that India's plans are too ambitious. Time is not with India, but against it. With the increase in population we have to run fast to stand still.

There was a 40 per cent increase in national income in the first decade of Indian planning. Of this only 16 per cent went into higher living standards. The rest was absorbed by population growth.

Many of our problems are problems of growth, and often the result of success. Even the population increase is wholly rooted in improved health,

better nutritional standards, and the eradication of diseases like malaria. In 1951 we had 100 million cases of malaria; in 1965 only 100,000.

We have a foreign exchange crisis because we have a large and diversified industrial economy that just did not exist a decade ago. Today we make jets and computers and export machine tools to Western Europe. We have supplied heavy water to Belgium. We are among the leading nations in the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. If India faces a crisis today it is largely a crisis of development.

I do not say this in extenuation of our mistakes or failures. I am conscious of the fact that we should and could have done better. But, taking the record as a whole, what has been achieved is quite remarkable, especially as it has been achieved in conditions of peace and political stability. We may quarrel among ourselves. But in times of crisis the nation has time and again risen as one to face the challenge. Basically India is united and strong. There is an underlying strand of Indianness that cannot be torn asunder.

The impatient observer often gets an exaggerated sense of disunity on account of our regional, caste and communal pulls. These negative forces are there. They are manifestations of an unfortunate but only too natural desire to secure as large a slice of the too small cake of opportunity that we can yet provide our people. They do not represent any fundamental division. And they are weakening with every passing year, although a contrary impression might be created by the violence of their death struggle.

Indeed, considering the size of India, the diversity of its people and the immense problems of poverty with which it is grappling, the wonder is not that there has been strain and internal tension, but that there has been such an extraordinary degree of stability and orderly progress.

This achievement should not be underestimated. It is useful to recall that even such old and prosperous countries as the United States, Canada and Belgium have problems of race, language and religion, by-products of history, which they are trying to solve in their own way.

Development with democracy in conditions of stability has been a major Indian contribution to world peace and human welfare. Yet poverty remains our main enemy. We are dedicated to victory in this struggle and we are convinced that we shall win.

In the task of economic development we have received crucial assistance from the United States, other friendly nations and various international agencies. We are grateful for this act of faith.

Although India may have received substantial foreign assistance in absolute terms, our own effort has been four to five times as large. The aid received by India in per capita terms is also about the lowest on the international scale. Given a modest step-up in foreign assistance, better terms in trade, opportunities of repayment in kind, a re-scheduling of external debts and improved plan implementation on our part, India can attain a stage of self-generating growth within the next decade. Even today, I might add, India is also a donor nation and has aided and is aiding a number of countries in Asia and Africa.

The present economic difficulties confronting India constitute a passing phase. If our Third Plan has not done as well as we had hoped, there are some external reasons for this, quite apart from any failures on our part: the Chinese attack in 1962 which resulted in a substantial diversion of resources and materials from development to defence, the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the pause in aid that followed and still continues, and, most recently, the unprecedented drought that has affected large parts of the country and created problems of food, rising prices and balance of payments difficulties.

All these, I am convinced, are temporary difficulties, and the Indian economy should resume its forward momentum within the year. Meanwhile there is much that has been achieved that does not enter into the cold statistics of growth. Most important of these gains are changing attitudes and values, a changing social structure, the spread of education and health services, child care, including a fairly large and expanding school-feeding programme, the development of many new skills, the rise of a new class of managers, technicians and entrepreneurs, and technological progress.

We have only made a beginning and have a long road to travel. But we are not deterred. We have adopted planning in a mixed economy as the means of attaining the objectives we seek, namely the well-being of the individual, 500 million individuals, members of a composite, democratic society. If India succeeds, the world will be a happier and a safer place for us all. If India were perchance to fail, then the world will have cause for anxiety. But we shall not fail.

Over the past 18 years of freedom, we have sought to evolve a purposeful and meaningful national consensus, based upon the principles of secularism and democratic socialism. We interpret these principles in the context of the Indian reality. We are at the same time conscious of living in an interdependent world. We want peace for its own sake, as a human necessity. We also know that India's development can go forward as fast as we would like, only in a peaceful world. This outlook has influenced our independent foreign policy.

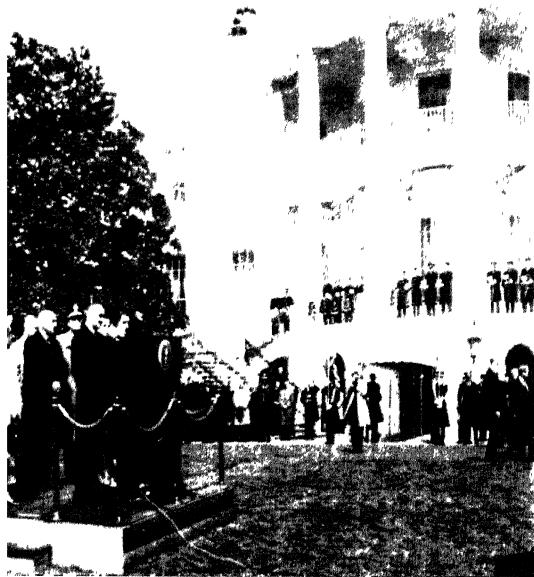
We no longer live in a bi-polar world. There have been significant shifts in alignments both in the East and the West. The Sino-Soviet rift, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the decolonization of large parts of Asia and Africa have resulted in material changes in the international situation.

China's ideology cannot push outwards if its neighbours and other nations possess strong, independent, nationalist governments. They must also see a viable alternative to China. India can be that Asian alternative. An alternative model for economic and social change, a democratic, socialist model. It is by its effort to develop in democratic socialism that India poses the most serious challenge to China. It is for this reason again that Peking tries to undo India's non-alignment.

The Sino-Indian problem, in this context, is more than a boundary question. It is a wider problem of relations between two giant Asian states and their future role in South and South-East Asia. We seek no spheres of influence, but if the intention is to weaken us, to erode us politically or to disrupt our federal unity, we shall not oblige.



With President de Gaulle of France at the Presidential Palace in Paris, 25 March 1966



Beijing welcomed by President and Mrs. Johnson and the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, on the grounds of the White House, Washington, 28 March 1966.



A close-up of the Prime Minister replying to President Johnson's words of welcome.



*The Prime Minister being escorted by President Johnson
to Blair House, Washington*



At the dinner at the White House, 28 March 1966. From left: Mrs Johnson, the Prime Minister, the President and Mrs Hubert Humphrey (wife of the U.S. Vice-President)

Siguring the book at the National Press Club, Washington. The Prime Minister addressed the Club on 29 March 1966



At the dinner given by the Indian Embassy to
Shri B. K. Nehru on 29 March 1966. From
left: Miss Lucy Barnes Johnson (the Presi-
dent's daughter), Mr. Nehru, the Prime
Minister, the President and Ambassador Nehru.





With U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in New York, April 1966



At meeting with the Afro-Asian group at UN Headquarters
From left: the Prime Minister
Mr M Ahsan Ali of
Greece, Shri G Parthasarathy,
Indian Ambassador to the UN,
and Shri C S Jha, Foreign
Secretary, External Affairs
Ministry of India

With Mr. Michael P. Morris, the First Knight of London, 22nd April 1976. From the British Society for Cultural Relations. Attending Dr. Jafar Mulla, Ishaq H. C. and L. A.





With Mr A N Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in Moscow on 2 April 1966. In the middle is Shri T N Kaul, Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

We are, like others, deeply concerned about the future of Viet Nam, a near Asian neighbour. We share the world's regret that a peaceful solution has eluded that troubled land thus far despite many and varied efforts. Nevertheless we are convinced that all of us must keep trying. The Geneva Conference could offer a way out and might yet provide the machinery for a return to the negotiating table. India is chairman of the International Control Commission and we have been and are always ready to play a constructive role in the continuing quest for peace in Viet Nam. I have been, in my talks with Mr. Johnson, impressed by the sincerity of the President's desire for a peaceful settlement in that war-torn country.

The real battle in South-East Asia and indeed in other areas of the developing world is one of development in conditions of social equality, freedom and stability. We believe that Asian development through the individual efforts of each country and through regional co-operation and friendly assistance from outside is eminently desirable. The Mekong River project and the Asian Development Bank, in both of which our countries are participating, are pointers.

Though we have rejected communism for ourselves, we do believe in peaceful co-existence. As your President has said, "No man or nation is wise enough to prescribe a single economic system or a single set of political institutions to meet the needs of more than a hundred countries each with its own history, its own resources, its own culture, and its own proud spiritual traditions." An idea can only be opposed by a better idea freely chosen by those concerned. Hence our friendship with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other countries of Eastern Europe. It is because we genuinely desire to promote peace and co-existence that we have not sought to join the nuclear arms race, despite the fact that we possess the necessary technical capability. Here is testimony of our *bona fides* as a non-aligned nation.

I move nearer home to India. Only two months ago we signed an agreement with our neighbour Pakistan. Through the Tashkent Declaration both our countries proclaimed their faith in peace and in peaceful methods to resolve differences between nations. Since that January day, we on our side have moved with sincerity and speed to deepen and enlarge the Tashkent spirit. It pains me to hear accusations made that India is not reconciled to the very existence of

Pakistan. We want Pakistan to live and prosper. We want Pakistan to be stable and devoted to the path of peace. To this end we are prepared to open frontiers, to work out joint economic projects and to heal the wounds of partition.

I have spoken far longer than I had intended.

But it was my desire to put India in perspective. Let me repeat that the fate of India is of the greatest concern to the world and that a stable, democratic and prosperous India will by itself be a force for peace and stability.

India desires the friendship and co-operation of the United States. Though sometimes misunderstandings arise, I believe there is a far wider area of agreement than of disagreement between our two countries.

Both India and the U.S. need one another's friendship and co-operation in this troubled world. India is as important to the U.S. as the U.S. is to India. Let us both recognize this cardinal truth and let us work together to strengthen the ideals in which we believe and have struggled for many years.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Joint communique issued at the conclusion of the talks between President Johnson and Shrimati Indira Gandhi, 29 March 1966

AT the invitation of President Johnson, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, has been on an official visit to the United States of America. During her visit, Prime Minister Gandhi met the President and members of the United States Government.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed India's efforts for the improved well-being of its people. Prime Minister Gandhi emphasized the high priority which India attaches to economic development. President Johnson assured Prime Minister Gandhi of the deep interest of the Government and the people of the United States in participating in international efforts, particularly

those under the leadership of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to assist India in its own massive efforts to raise the living standards of its people within the framework of a parliamentary democracy.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed India's emergency food-grain requirements resulting from last year's unprecedented drought. They agreed that the problem should be viewed not in isolation but in the context of an incipient worldwide food deficit, a challenge to humanity as a whole that merits the sustained and serious attention of all nations.

The Prime Minister described measures which the Government of India is taking to achieve self-sufficiency in the nation's food production. The President assured her that, Congress willing, the United States will continue to participate generously in the international effort to alleviate India's immediate food deficit problem. The President told Mrs. Gandhi that he intended to send a special message to Congress shortly to seek its endorsement of such U.S. assistance. Both of them agreed that further participation of other countries in meeting India's emergency food needs is also highly desirable.

Prime Minister Gandhi welcomed the President's proposal for the establishment of an Indo-U.S. foundation to promote progress in all fields of learning. The President and the Prime Minister looked to this co-operative endeavour to develop new teaching techniques in farm and factory, to advance science and to increase research.

President Johnson and Prime Minister Gandhi agreed that following the Tashkent declaration there had already been considerable progress towards re-establishing the conditions of peace in the sub-continent and that it is necessary that this process continue in order that the peoples of both countries may concentrate their energies once again on the urgent tasks of national development. They also agreed on the importance of continuing full support to the United Nations objectives of refraining from the use of force and of resolving conflicts between nations through peaceful means.

During their discussions, President Johnson and Prime Minister Gandhi reviewed recent developments in South and South-East Asia in the context of the universal desire of men and women everywhere to achieve peace that respects

liberty, dignity and the pursuit of a better way of life. In this connection, the President explained the policies the United States is pursuing to help the people of the Republic of Viet Nam to defend their freedom and to reconstruct their war-torn society. The Prime Minister explained the continuing interest and efforts of her country in bringing about a just and peaceful solution of this problem.

Prime Minister Gandhi affirmed the determination of her nation to defend the freedom and territorial integrity of India and explained the challenge presented to it by the aggressive policies of the People's Republic of China. The Prime Minister and the President agreed that such aggressive policies pose a threat to peace, particularly in Asia.

The President and the Prime Minister consider that the visit has reaffirmed the strong bonds of friendship between the United States and India, based upon a shared commitment to constitutional democracy and a common revolutionary heritage. Their highly informative, frank and friendly discussions have contributed to a valuable personal understanding between their two countries and their two peoples.

Prime Minister Gandhi extended a warm invitation to President Johnson to visit India. The President expressed his gratitude for the invitation and his hope that he could visit India again.

TOUCH OF SPRING

*Statement on leaving Washington for New York,
30 March 1966*

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE, your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen :

With every meeting, there comes a time of parting. This morning, I leave Washington after two very full and memorable days. I have enjoyed genuine warmth of hospitality in this gracious city and for this I am grateful to President and Mrs. Johnson, to you Mr. Secretary, to your colleagues in the Administration, and to the people of Washington.

The frank and wide-ranging talks that I have had with President Johnson have been to our mutual advantage. This exchange of views has been of considerable benefit and will, I am sure, draw the United States and India nearer. The ties that bind our two countries are of long standing. Nevertheless we always seek the closer understanding of friends. We have found such an understanding and it is reflected in the joint communique issued last evening.

I leave Washington with the happiest memories of a memorable visit. I have invited the President and Mrs. Johnson to visit India, where I know they will receive a very warm and cordial welcome.

It is spring in Washington. As I depart, I carry with me the fragrance of a renewed friendship between the American and Indian peoples. I trust there will always be a touch of spring in Indo-American relations and that the friendship and goodwill between our two countries will ever blossom in profusion and brilliance.

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

*Speech at dinner given by the Economic Club of New York
at the New York Hilton Hotel, 30 March 1966*

I COME to the United States and to New York not as a stranger but as a friend. New York is the financial and cultural centre of your great country and I am aware that your Club is one of the best known groups in the business and banking community of this city. I am especially pleased, therefore, to be with you this evening.

My theme today is the performance and prospects of the Indian economy, a subject in which, I know, you have long been interested. The basic fact about India is that she is at once a very old and a very young country. She has had a long history, a great culture and many traditions. But it is less than 18 years since she emerged into her own from the shackles of colonial rule. With the winning of freedom, we lost no time in adopting for ourselves a programme of economic development. Our First Five Year Plan was launched in 1951. In a few days, we shall complete the third of these five-year plans, and 15 years of development

will be behind us. This period of time, so full of performance and achievements as well as of rising, but unfulfilled expectations, is a useful time-frame for taking stock.

The recorded facts of progress are certainly impressive in all spheres of economic activity — agriculture, industry, infrastructure, health and education. I shall not repeat them in detail. Yet I cannot resist quoting some figures which will give you a broad-brush picture of what has taken place in India. In these 15 years the production of food-grains went up from 50 to 88 million tons. Industrial production has been steadily rising at the rate of 7 to 8 per cent per annum. The capacity for generation of electricity has increased five-fold from 1.7 million kilowatts in 1950 to 8.5 million kilowatts in 1965. Nearly 70 million children attend school today, as against 25 million in 1950. Malaria and smallpox have been eradicated and the expectation of life has increased from 32 years in the 1940s to 50 years now.

In this tremendous endeavour, India has been greatly helped by her friends abroad. We are grateful for the generosity and understanding with which this help has been forthcoming. Our own efforts in mobilizing domestic savings have also been very substantial. In a country as poor as India, where the margin between income and consumption is necessarily narrow, it is rather remarkable that domestic savings have doubled from 5 per cent of the national income in 1951 to over 11 per cent in 1966. In the last 15 years, these internal savings have financed 80 per cent of our total investment. With patience and good cheer, our people have accepted the growing role of taxation in financing the rapidly expanding programmes for development and social services. As another measure of self-reliance, exports in the last five years have increased at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. The doctrine of self-help is therefore not by any means new to us. From the very beginning we have been committed to and have steadily organized ourselves for self-reliance to as large a degree as possible.

The practical connotation which we have given to this concept of self-reliance is to undertake, early in the process of development, basic investments designed fully to exploit our human and material resources. We have built steel mills not because they are prestigious but because India has vast reserves of good iron ore and skilled and inexpensive labour. We can produce steel cheaply. We are organized for fabricating machinery and for designing plants using our

own steel. We have coal, oil and bauxite which we have proceeded to exploit in the same way. Qualitatively, the last 15 years have seen not only a growth but a diversification and sophistication of the industrial structure of India. This has meant that we now increasingly import raw materials and components. In many key commodities, the proportion of imports to total consumption is steadily going down.

I am sure you cannot be unaware of these broad facts. But unfortunately this is not the picture which has been in the forefront of world news about India in recent months. This is why I wished to draw your attention to them once again this evening.

In recent months, in India as well as outside, there has been much public discussion on the strains which have developed in the Indian economy. It is not my purpose to take you through the detailed causes which have contributed to the phase of strain and tension which admittedly we are experiencing today. It seems to me that much of our present difficulties in regard to food and foreign exchange are, in large part, a reflection of the fact that the rising expectations of the Indian people have overtaken the progress so far achieved. The greatest single lesson to be drawn is that in future plans we should aim to achieve decisively higher results than we have done so far.

In this context, the crucial sector is clearly agriculture. Over the last 15 years, Indian agriculture has grown by nearly 4 per cent per annum. The demand has simultaneously gone up, due not only to the increase in population but also because people eat more, prefer better food and live longer. Even so, with the agricultural growth we have achieved, production might have been adequate for meeting minimum requirements if only food could be steadily produced without any fluctuations beyond the control of man. Unfortunately, the vicissitudes of weather have greater impact in India than perhaps in other parts of the world. We have a high proportion of arable land, but less than a fifth of it is irrigated. Also, a large part of irrigation depends on the rains and this year we have had a drought exceptional and unparalleled in the last 70 years. It is a measure of the degree to which the world has become indivisible that in this crisis we have had the full understanding and assistance of many countries and, most notably, of your own. With this support, I have no doubt that we shall tide over the famine without too great suffering.

We have drawn a long-term and essential lesson from this famine. In agriculture it is not enough to aim at self-sufficiency, we must produce more. This is the basic objective of the bold new agricultural strategy which has been evolved in India in the last year. This strategy has been based on an intense review for several months preceding the present crisis. Basically, what we are attempting is to break, within a short space of time, the vicious circle of poor incentives, inadequate inputs and low production in Indian agriculture and achieve a modernized agriculture. A few months ago, we adopted a policy of guaranteeing to the farmer an incentive floor price for his produce. This change is already producing tangible results. In the last few years the Indian farmer has become thoroughly accustomed to the use of chemical fertilizers. The consumption of fertilizers has increased nearly twenty-fold in the last 15 years, and the demand for it is double what we can produce in India at the moment. Building on this base, the new strategy concentrates on making available the whole package of inputs that the farmer needs, such as fertilizers, improved seeds, credit, pesticides, extension services, etc. to areas of assured rainfall. We are confident that the additional yield expected by these means will enable India fully to replace food imports by 1970-71. The most encouraging development in this area is the adoption of improved seed varieties for wheat, rice and other grains which promise yields five to six times the present levels. In terms of priority, agriculture has been placed on top of the list of all developmental schemes, whether for allocation of internal or external resources.

Of equal priority are our plans for population control. Our efforts have received a decisive impetus in the last year or so. Over 18,000 family planning centres are now functioning in the country and we started on the intra-uterine contraceptive device programme last year. This device, which is simple, inexpensive and harmless, has already become quite popular, and on an average there are 100,000 insertions a month. This number is rapidly increasing. In the Third Plan, the expenditure on family planning has been over ten times that spent on the programme in the first two plans put together and more than three times this higher amount will be allotted for population control in the next five years.

What is important to remember is that in both agriculture and population control, we have to operate in the diffuse area where success depends on the extent

to which individuals accept a change in attitude. At this point one can truthfully say that the Indian peasant as well as the Indian parent is being rapidly prepared to accept the changed attitudes demanded of them by modern society. But ultimately what will convince them to modernize is the example of modernization itself. Nothing succeeds like success, and in the coming years, as examples of progress in India multiply, the pace of progress will certainly accelerate. What is important is that at every stage we should have the resources and the inputs to satisfy this demand for improvement in whatever form and whenever it arises. This then is the challenge for the coming period.

We are at present engaged in the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. It seeks to take India on to a decisively higher stage of development in the next five years. The investment in the Fourth Plan will be \$45 billion, nearly twice the investment of around \$24 billion in the Third Plan. The strategy underlying this plan is a rapid reduction in the birth rate, an assurance to the agricultural sector of all the inputs it needs, an emphasis on rapid expansion of exports, and a rapid increase in domestic savings. In drawing up this plan, we have time and again been impressed by the extent to which agriculture, transport, power and industry are linked together. Fertilizers provide the most obvious example of these links. One of our most important targets is to increase fertilizer production capacity to 2·4 million tons of Nitrogen. We already have enough schemes on hand and under active negotiation to ensure realization of this target.

As I see it, India is well past the mid-point of a process of development which began in 1951. The next ten or twelve years, of which the Fourth Plan will be only the first milestone, will be a crucial period as it is within this time-span of the next decade or so that India plans to complete her emergence as a fully self-reliant nation. These years will certainly be crucial to the people of India, in terms of the effort and sacrifice which they will be called upon to make. They will also be crucial for our friends elsewhere in the world in that they will face the test of whether they intend to continue the support which they have given to India so far decisively enough in the future so as to make a difference. The aid which we have received hitherto has been on a generous scale in absolute terms. But, relative to other countries, it has been somewhere at the end of the list on a

per capita basis. To some extent this is perhaps due to the enormous size of our country. Nonetheless, the fact remains that unless internal savings are supplemented to an adequate degree by the import of capital, we cannot carry out the very investments which would render the further flow of aid unnecessary in the foreseeable future. I would venture to suggest that from the point of view of the aid-giving countries themselves, it would be far better to render assistance on a scale that promotes early self-generating growth than to run the risk of giving too little. Such a policy would be self-defeating.

This concept of ultimate self-reliance means that aid, which is an extraordinary form of transfer of resources, need not continue and our own export earnings could meet our import requirements. The flow of private investment would certainly continue; it would be welcome and, indeed, receive greater emphasis. I am aware that most of you in this gathering are keenly interested in our policies in respect of private foreign investment and I shall, therefore, speak quite frankly on this matter. In India, we welcome private foreign investment not only for the capital it brings with it, but also for the transfer of modern technology and managerial and technical skills private investment facilitaties. In the future, we shall continue to maintain our policy of treating foreign investors completely on par with national investors. Indeed, the foreign investor in India is 'discriminated' only in the sense of being allowed certain advantages, such as tax exemption for technicians, which are not available to Indian nationals. Our fiscal structure contains sizable incentives to private investment, Indian and foreign, and these will be continued. We allow full repatriation of profits and capital freely and we intend to continue this policy. Most important of all, India has a large and growing market with a high degree of profitability. In the foreseeable future, it will be one of the world's largest markets; and enterprises established early in the process of development are bound to take a full share in that prosperity. In India, we have a well-laid infrastructure of power and transport. Indian labour has demonstrated that, with proper training and good working conditions, its productivity can compare with that achieved in Western Europe. We have given high importance to technical education and there is no dearth of technicians and engineers in India.

This is the brighter side of the picture. The other side which has been presented to us repeatedly is the existence in the Indian system of a number of

controls and allocation procedures which, it is claimed, act as a major inhibiting factor to the smooth flow of private investment. To a large extent, these controls are a product of scarcity. When resources are limited, and have to be put to the most productive use within the framework of a system of priorities, it is inevitable that there should be selectivity about the fields in which one wants new investment. To give an obvious example, in the Indian context it would be irrational to assure freedom of investment in cosmetics or similar luxury goods. It is this need for selectivity which necessitates controls.

Having said this, I do fully agree with the plea for a rationalization and simplification of procedures for operating these controls. In this area, wherever the supply situation has improved, such as in steel or cement, we have loosened the allocation procedures. We have also undertaken a number of steps to streamline the approval mechanism. As a major step in this area, I am meeting young Indian industrialists next month to explore with them possibilities for further improvement. Any suggestions which you might like to contribute in this matter individually or in groups are welcome and we shall give them our full consideration.

Ultimately, liberalization of controls is possible only with a greater inflow of foreign resources whether from export earnings or foreign aid or foreign investment. We do not believe in controls for their own sake and, with an additional supply of foreign resources, we shall certainly be prepared to relax many of them. On exports we continue to do all we can, but I must point out that the industrialized countries of the western world need to open up their markets much more than they have been prepared to do so far.

I have outlined our approach to private foreign investment. I feel confident that this approach supplies a framework within which we and you can do business together. In this country you have always believed in pushing back your frontiers. In the last century, you tamed the Wild West. My appeal to you today is that in the next few decades you should allow yourselves to be tamed by the Developing East. In this complex and troubled world of today, the greatest promise for a better future lies in the growth in science and technology and in modern means of communication which have brought this world, yours and mine, so close together already. We, in this generation, have the opportunity to use these marvellous tools to secure for the world peace through prosperity. In this quest, India is entirely ready and willing to be your partner.

INDIAN DEMOCRACY

Speech at dinner given by the India Council of the Asia Society, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, the Far-East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, and the Business Council for International Understanding at the Plaza Hotel, New York,

31 March 1966

HERE is little to be said either about India or about Indo-American relations with which you are not already familiar. But with your permission I should like to indulge in some loud thinking on matters of common concern.

India and the United States share the values of freedom and peace, religious tolerance and goodwill, care of the weak and the neglected and opportunity for all without sapping the springs of initiative and enterprise. We also share a commitment to political democracy. On us rests a great part of the responsibility of carrying forward, over the coming decades, the traditions of progress with freedom and justice. As the most affluent democracy and the most powerful nation in the world, America has a place in world affairs which is easy to comprehend. India too will be judged by future historians in terms of her success or failure in enriching human dignity and in sustaining freedom among the emerging nations of the world.

There is no parallel in history for what we are trying to achieve in India today. In a vast and ancient land steeped in extreme poverty and embracing within its borders a rich variety of cultures, languages and religions, we are attempting to bridge, in a matter of decades, the gap created by a century and more of stagnation. This we are doing within the framework of an active and highly articulate democracy. For we believe that development can be achieved with consent and with increasing welfare.

The Indian experiment gains meaning and significance in its relevance to two-thirds of humanity for whom the virtues of freedom and of the rule of

law have yet to be proven and tested. Neither India nor America can discharge the responsibility which history has bestowed upon them without a correct perspective of the world in which we live.

Let us look at the world of today. As a result of the manifold initiatives already taken towards greater international co-operation, our world is becoming increasingly united. In the second half of the twentieth century, science and technology have definitely tilted the scales in favour of greater hope and promise for all mankind. At the same time, tensions still persist and there is growing inequality between one nation and another. A significant fact is the change in the outlook and quality of the new generation. There is now opportunity for youth to gain recognition, to pursue excellence, and for their talent to flower. In Europe and America, in Asia and Africa, in the Soviet Union and Latin America, the young are restless and are seeking identity. They are increasingly free from the passions and prejudices of the past. They repudiate the memories and slogans of an age in which wars, depression, colonialism and racial intolerance gave rise to such fierce passions and ideological disputes. Instead they want to hew their own path of endeavour and self-expression.

In India too the gap between the new generation and the older one is much wider than ever before. Talented young people are emerging in large numbers and from all sections of society. The attitudes of these young people are changing the standard image of India that exists in the minds of most people abroad. Even in the Indian village of today, bound as it is by old custom and tradition, you will find an urge for progress and change. Poverty and want, disease and ignorance are no longer accepted as punishment for past sins. The Indian business community has also come of age. The commercial attitudes of the past are dying and a whole generation of younger businessmen, trained in modern methods of management and attuned to technical and economic efficiency, is emerging to create a new and dynamic industry.

In the political sphere too, we have repeatedly belied the prophets of gloom. With all our differences and difficulties, India has remained one and united, a secular State where religious tolerance is cherished as much as individual freedom, a federal State where local autonomy is constantly being enlarged without undermining the sense of national unity and purpose.

The question is often asked how despite all her problems India has been able to strengthen the foundations of democracy and harmony. The answer is not difficult to find. In Mahatma Gandhi we had a great leader whose identification with the poorest of the poor gave a strong base to our political party. In my father we had a leader who was young at heart and who retained to the last a fresh and forward-looking mind. He was able to call the nation to great tasks. His leadership was one that stressed self-reliance. He demanded loyalty not to himself but to larger causes. The Congress Party, which Mahatma Gandhi and my father guided, has a tradition of harbouring under its canopy a wide range of political opinion. Differences are resolved by debate and discussion.

I should not like you to believe — indeed how could I? — that all is well with India or that we do not have formidable problems still ahead of us. With all our progress in the economic field, and it has been considerable, life for the average Indian still retains its harshness. Much remains to be done to bring the benefits of science and technology to our homes, our farms and our factories. Health and education require far greater attention than we have been able to give. In our commerce with other nations, we run an adverse balance which must be met by borrowing from abroad. What should we do to meet this situation? We have initiated a bold new programme for raising agricultural production and for encouraging family planning. In regard to external trade also, we are making every effort to increase our export earnings and to produce at home a growing proportion of our rapidly rising needs of fertilizers, pesticides, petroleum products, steel and even machinery. The Indian economy has, over the years, achieved a fairly high degree of sophistication and diversification so that today we are able to manufacture a wide variety of goods and equipment in our own factories.

Some of the difficulties which we are experiencing today in regard to prices, food production and foreign exchange are in large part a reflection of the very success that we have achieved in modernizing and transforming the Indian economy. Progress has brought expectation of even greater advance and the desire to move faster than is immediately feasible. If our economy falters and shows signs of strain, they are difficulties of growth and not of stagnation or incompetence or wrong objectives and policies.

If we had not thought of building the basic industries, we might have moved faster. But there is no escape from setting up basic industry and transport and power. As we grow we have to build the basis of further growth. In President Johnson's words, we must "build for tomorrow in the immediacy of today".

So we continue our endeavour. Four-fifths of our investment of \$40 billion in the last fifteen years has come from our own people, mainly through taxation, and mainly from the poor. Only a million Indians are rich enough to pay income tax in a nation of 500 million people.

The other one-fifth of our investment comes to us as foreign aid. It is a crucial one-fifth, a catalytic one-fifth. It represents new machinery, new technology and the materials needed by our growing industry.

A great deal of our foreign aid comes from the American people. As we draw closer to the turning point, our effort increases and we need a correspondingly greater volume of aid. If this is not forthcoming, the bright tomorrow recedes. As a nation, we do not wish to depend on foreign assistance for a day longer than is absolutely necessary. Our enormous population has made it difficult for us to obtain the kind of external assistance on a per capita basis as has been made available to other, more fortunately placed, countries.

With all these disabilities, we do wholeheartedly endorse the principle that foreign aid can be justified only in terms of performance. No nation, not even the United States of America, is rich enough to waste its substance. And no nation, certainly not India, can receive even friendly assistance without paralyzing its will and morale, *unless* such aid is merely a stepping stone towards eventual self-reliance.

The assistance we have received so generously from America has been not only on a government-to-government basis. It has also been on a people-to-people and a business-to-business basis. The work of the devoted young people of the Peace Corps, the activities of institutions such as the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation and the presence of a large number of Indian students in your universities — all these are evidence of people-to-people co-operation. As for business, American and Indian businessmen have come closer together in trade and in industry in a number of productive ventures.

I assure those who have a business interest in India or are contemplating such an interest, that India welcomes them. We allow repatriation of profits and capital freely. These problems can be discussed frankly with us and need not be raised to the level of international controversy. As a nation, we are hospitable. Investors coming to India will be received as friends. We have no rigid or dogmatic attitudes. Our main concern is the well-being of our people and the viability of our country. Whatever the odds, we must succeed in our experiment of progress with freedom and social justice. Consistent with this, we are prepared to consider any and every proposal for international business co-operation.

The bonds of friendship between India and the United States are strong, but they cannot be meaningful and purposeful without the realization that our two countries have a special responsibility to share at this present juncture of history. To discharge this high responsibility, we must view the present in the perspective of history. We cannot afford to be distracted by impatience or diverted by difficulties or irritated by misunderstandings which seem so inseparable a part of human relations. The quality of statesmanship lies in rising above the vexations and irritations of the day. Nowhere is this quality more essential than in the relationship between India and America.

No country is an island nor can it contract out of world affairs. So I should like to touch briefly on India's foreign relations.

Many people in the United States ask me about India's relations with Pakistan and China. Indo-Pakistan relations are all too often equated with Kashmir. Now, Kashmir is not the cause but rather the consequence of Indo-Pakistan differences. There was no Kashmir problem on August 15, 1947 when India and Pakistan became independent. The 'problem' as it is called, arose some months later with an invasion of the State of Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan. This is a United Nations finding and a basic fact.

India agreed and indeed suggested a plebiscite at the time but on condition that the State was first cleared of the invader and peace restored. The United Nations endorsed this condition. Since this basic condition was never fulfilled by Pakistan, there could be no question of a plebiscite which was categorically defined as the very last stage of a clearly stated sequence of events.

It is now too late to talk of plebiscite. The second invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan last autumn has destroyed whatever marginal or academic value the old U.N. resolutions might have had. Kashmir is also vital to the defence of India in Ladakh against China.

Any plebiscite today would by definition amount to questioning the integrity of India. It would raise the issue of secession — an issue on which the United States fought a civil war not so very long ago. We cannot and will not tolerate a second partition of India on religious grounds today. It would destroy the very basis of the Indian State.

All over the world, states and statesmen are struggling to bring people together and to keep them together in composite, multi-racial, multi-lingual, and multi-religious societies. India is the largest composite state in the world.

We desire the friendship of Pakistan. We are sincerely anxious to abide by the Tashkent declaration which binds both parties to abjure the use of force. We seek economic and other co-operation with Pakistan. We have many common interests that could link and keep us together. I think all friends of India and Pakistan have a responsibility to assist these countries to draw nearer in such a fashion and not to encourage unrealistic political and military assumptions or an artificial balance of power that merely aggravates tension.

China is almost the only country to have denounced the Tashkent agreement. And now we read of Chinese military supplies being given to Pakistan. We are concerned about these developments, especially against the background of China's desire to stir up trouble wherever it can.

I am again asked another question: 'If China threatens India, then what is India doing to combat Peking's designs in South-East Asia?'

China is taking great care to avoid direct military involvement in Viet Nam. But China's shadow does fall across South-East Asia. The real threat from China, however, is less military than political and economic. Chinese influence will be contained if its neighbours in Asia and the nations of the developing world can build around popular and forward-looking nationalist governments dedicated to fulfilling the aspirations of their people. They would also

be greatly strengthened in this purpose were they to see a strong and viable alternative model to Peking. It is precisely by its successful effort to develop in democracy that India thwarts China's designs. India is part of that 'rural countryside' that the Chinese leaders would win and use in their revolutionary assault on the industrially advanced 'cities' of the West. It is in this large and populous 'rural countryside' that China can and must be contained. India is fighting this battle through its devotion to the democratic ideal. India is fighting this battle through its perseverance in planned development and its struggle against poverty. India is militarily holding a 2,000-mile Himalayan frontier against China. India is also fighting this battle in the crucial forum of Afro-Asia which China has sought to usurp as a political launching-pad and as a revolutionary substitute for United Nations. India's contribution in this regard has earned little notice or thanks. But I venture to suggest that this is a contribution of high significance since it has the unique distinction of meeting China's challenge on the ground and plane of Peking's own choosing.

Alongside the massive effort for economic regeneration, we are fully conscious of the importance of keeping in touch with our cultural roots. Textiles and pottery and a whole variety of handicrafts are now being developed and adapted for modern living. It is through its art and music that a nation finds and reveals its soul. Much has been done to rediscover our old treasures, to give new life and meaning to both traditional and folk dance and art forms. At the same time there is a search for new ideas, new modes of self-expression.

I thank you for arranging this most pleasant function. I should like to express my gratitude to the many organizations that have joined together as hosts on this occasion.

